is contained in the jumping legs of the grasshopper. A girl who is supposed to be alienated from her lover is asked -- as often happens without harm in daily life -- to pulverize a heap of dried buchu herbs. A grasshopper leg has been secretly crumbled up between the leaves. When the girl has finished and rubs her hands that are dusty from the buchu powder in her armpits as is customary to get them clean, she unknowingly rubs in that magic potion that kills her love. In other cases the grasshopper's legs are packed deep down in the bone pipe. The pipe then makes the usual rounds and when it has been ascertained that the loving pair got some of the leg pieces to smoke, then the magic is considered a success. I also knew a case where the parents of the girl consulted a professional magician, who smeared a little stick with the contents of his poison box (see Medicine, page 226), broke the stick and threw the pieces away with the words: "/a/gu hã kxoēra gye nĩ /go/ra," i.e. "the two who love each other are to separate." 584 832

Before the whites became a dominant factor and destroyed the old customs, love outside of marriage was punished. Old Hottentots, who observe with misgivings present day actions, have told me that on numerous occasions, independently of each other. The guilty ones were either both thrashed with the approval of the parents or the girl's share of the punishment was transferred to the boy. The punishment was carried out at the direction of the sub-captain; in other words it was an act of public morality. 177 836 684

The parents of the young man undertake the wooing. Etiquette requires a rejection of the offer, much discussing back and forth and finally acceding to the request. The man is not supposed to think that they were waiting for him. 584

The wedding is celebrated with much slaughtering. The bridegroom or his parents must supply the festival roast (cf. folk tale XXXIV). But sometimes both families participate in the wedding slaughter, !gũ/≠as. Poor people sometimes trade their only milch cow for one that can be slaughtered in order to fulfill their wedding obligations. 585 431

On the wedding day the young man and the young woman each give their respective mothers-in-law a cow, abago/mas, in remembrance of the time when they carried the boy or girl as a baby in aba skin (see below). And because they nursed them at the breast, that wedding cow is also called ≠amago/mas. The term kx̄ã/go/mas, [299] which I heard more rarely, means that something is returned (= kx̄ã/) to the mothers to which they are entitled. The present is supposed to compensate the mothers for the loss of their children.

The arrival of the young wife, tara·s, in the husband's village is celebrated again with slaughtering, a greeting to which she is entitled (cf. folk tale, LVIII). 585 [601]

Today only a few Hottentots could afford several wives, as ancient custom allows, because of their impoverishment. Also the relationship between the sexes has deteriorated to such an extent that it is not necessary for a man to have the intimate relationship with several wives officially sanctioned. 177 595

2. Intra-Family Relationships

a) In the relationship of husband and wife, the honored position of the wife differentiates the family of the Hottentots clearly from that of the Hereros. The woman is considered the mistress of the hut in all household matters. Thus under certain circumstances she has the right to refuse her husband the right to enter the hut. She manages the food supply. Her husband asks for milk and she gives it to him. In addition, the fact that she does the most important job in the household of a herdsman, namely the milking, differentiates her from the wife of a Herero. The honored position of the woman in the marriage relationship does not prevent occasional quarrels in which the husband makes full use of his physical superiority. 593 171 562 462

Only barrenness lowers the esteem of a wife permanently.

b) The relationship of the parents, //gũ·ǂra, to the children, /gõ·an. Caring for small children, aba·, is naturally the mother's business. She carries her child on her back in a lamb skin called //hani·b (see Plate X). 854 [601]

"//Haniba !kxara !", i.e. Drag the aba skin after you!" is shouted to little children when they sneeze (sĩǀ). In other cases I heard the mother wish the sneezing child "!oǂman kxao !," i.e. "push your rear !" (*-an seems to be a reflexive particle). Both wishes refer to the eagerly-awaited first attempts of the child to walk. The baby tries to get up from its helpless sitting position on the floor and at first always falls back again on its rear. When it can walk, it drags the aba skin, which it has by then outgrown, after itself and uses it as a toy. 854 866

[300] The parents assign each child, even grown ones, a certain cow for its use (*maĩam, i.e., placing to the mouth). The child may only milk for itself this one cow, ãǂbes, mornings and evenings. During the day, when the cattle are in the pasture, he is served what is left of his milk. Likewise those who are married sometimes get four or five cows from their parents. 855 422 [585]

A539

for her (si). Whereupon [the little one]: "Mother, I have seen something (χūĩr); go there, won't you (-re), and see." So she says.

Then she took a thong (!haũba) and went and saw (actually: "came to see") the two of them (-kxã, suff. of the 3rd pers. dual masc. in the dat.-acc.). Then she plucked (tsuru) grass (/gãba) and wrapped (//guiam) the two of them, their two dogs (arikχa), everything (hoa) together (/kχa) in the grass. Then she brought (double vb.: sĩ "to go," ũ "to take") the two of them to the hut (oms), and in the hut she built (om) a separate hut (/guri "alone," hã "to remain") and told (gai) the two of them to lie down. Then they lay down and warned the dogs (mĩ "to say," -ba emphasizes the relation to the obj.): "You should (nĩ) not (tã) drink (ã) like that* (tumi)." So

*Here the narrator imitates the lapping noise of drinking dogs.

they said. But the [sister] asked the old elephant mother: "When (o) I [518] once upon a time (χare) married here (nẽba), was a bare (!gora) kneed (//goasa adj., here used substantivally //goase[b]) wether (gũb) slaughtered (χãhe) for me* (ta, -ba see above)?" Whereupon [the old woman] said: "You

[585 578]

*It is a Hottentot custom for the mother-in-law to slaughter a head of cattle when she receives the young wife who moves into her husband's kraal. The daughter-in-law then does the same. If this festive slaughter is omitted by well-situated families, then that is a breach of good form, an unfriendly gesture toward the young wife.

wife (tarase) of my (ti) son,* why (tarexa, with the personal suff. of the subj.)

*The crude conception of the family life which causes the young wife so much suffering is characterized by the words of the old elephant; she does not speak of her son as the man whom she bore (õab) but whom she conceived in copulation (aẽ "to complete coitus").

do you suddenly (tsẽẽ, "one day") speak of things (χũna) that you (-s in hugas) never (huga, "ever," toma "not") mention?" But the other replied: "I (-ta)

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

585 [583] The marriage is celebrated by a great feast at the home of the girl's parents. On the day of the ceremony, the bridegroom has to present a cow to his mother-in-law, in token of the fact that she brought up his bride, and carried the latter whilst still a child in the *aba* skin on her back (hence the cow is termed *aba-gomas*). A similar presentation is made to his mother by the bride. The bridegroom and his people also have to provide the cows slaughtered for the marriage feast. Oxen may not be used for this purpose, lest the marriage prove unhappy and quarrelsome, whereas the use of female animals will make it fruitful. On the morning of the ceremony the cows are driven in festive procession by the relatives of the bridegroom to the home of the bride's parents. Here they are slaughtered. While the meat is being prepared, the bridegroom is fetched from his own home by two of his companions, who play on the reed pipes. All three dance up to the hut newly erected for the bride near that of her parents, in which she is waiting with some young girl attendants. Arrived there, the men dance round the hut for a while. Then the bridegroom's companions place themselves before the entrance of the hut, so that he can get in only with difficulty and by the exercise of force. As soon as he gets through and the young girls have left the hut, the mat door is lowered and secured to the ground with a stone, as a sign that entrance is forbidden. The marriage, says Hahn, is then consummated, with the knowledge of the whole camp, but without arousing any special notice. The guests meanwhile sing, pipe, and dance, and this continues all through the evening and night, the festivities only being interrupted for the great communal meal in which everybody takes part. Before the appearance of the morning star, the husband returns to his old home, where he has to stay the whole day without even seeing his wife; and only after the third or fourth day is he allowed to remain permanently with her.

584 585 The ceremonies of courtship and marriage just described are those noticed among the Naman within fairly recent times, and in most details are apparently still practised by them where they have not been christianized. A much earlier account by Wikar of the marriage customs of the Little Namaqua tribes contains several features not noted above; and as he is on the whole a reliable and accurate observer his description deserves to be quoted as complementary to that just given.[1]

584 He states that a boy courting a girl with the intention of marriage

[1] "Berigt aan . . . den Hoer van Plettenberg," 100–2.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

does not ask her directly for her consent, but *oua*'s or " seeks her " in the following manner. If he is not ashamed and if his intentions are serious, he comes at night into the hut of her parents while the fire is still burning, and carefully notes the place where she goes to sleep. When the family all lie down to sleep, and the fire is dead, he then goes to lie by the side of the girl. She, " if not in too much of a hurry to have him," gets up and goes to lie in another part of the hut. The boy, however, remains sleeping on her skin bed until daybreak, when without speaking a word he gets up and goes away. The following night he appears again. If he finds that the girl's bed is still in the same spot, he can regard this as a sign that his courtship is favoured by her. Even if she continues to get up and lie elsewhere for several nights in succession when he lies down next to her, this is merely to test his steadfastness; he must only persevere, and all will go well. When at last she remains with him, he does not get up till broad daylight, and he leaves lying behind him a waistband of ostrich egg-shell beads for his mother-in-law, as a gift for the use of the bed. Then, still without speaking a word, he exchanges karosses with the girl, who also gives him *buchu* with which to powder his head and rub his arm-pits. Then he goes away.

The official marriage feast is celebrated the same day. The bridegroom must provide a sheep or a cow, which is slaughtered for the bride. The four legs of the animal are bound together, and in this position it lies for an hour or more. Meanwhile all the married women of the camp come together, and the bride is placed in their midst. She is lectured by them on her duties as a married woman, and they also, as Wikar quaintly puts it, " praise men who seek wives, since to-day they have enough to eat." The animal is then slaughtered by a magician (" toveniaar "), who must be a male. A special portion of the meat is given to him, but he is the only male person who may eat of the animal. Not even the bridegroom may partake of it, nor any children or unmarried girls. The bladder of the slaughtered animal is then blown up and tied to the head of the girl; the fat is strewn with *buchu* by the women, and this she must wear round her neck; while the sinews are threaded through ostrich egg-shell beads, which she must wear round her legs.

In the meantime, the bridegroom, desirous of winning that day his laurels as a hunter, is off early into the veld with his spear, bow and arrows. His quarry provides material for a general feast, which is followed by dancing and festivity. To the mother of his bride

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Cape Hottentots

583 he must also present two milch cows, or, if he is poor, one will do;
585 while to her father he must also give several head of cattle. In return, however, he receives almost as many—probably in the form of dowry to the wife, who also brings with her into the marriage her own hut.[1]

585 The important feature of this account, apart from the circumstantial
264 description of the wooing, is the clear evidence it provides for the holding of a special meal in which only the bride and previously-married women take part. Meals of this sort, by means of which persons entering upon a new stage of life are aggregated into the group of persons already in that stage, play an important part in almost all the social ceremonies of the Hottentots. Except in the present instance, however, there is no definite statement that such a meal accompanies marriage, although, as we shall see, its existence as an essential part of the marriage ceremony is hinted at in the careful analysis given by Mrs. Hoernlé of the transition rites ("rites de passage") of the Hottentots.

178 In the case of the Cape Hottentots, all trace of the marriage
531 ceremonies has naturally long since disappeared. For information
535 about them we have to rely for the most part upon seventeenth and eighteenth century accounts, which as a rule leave much to be desired. The two most useful sources of this kind are Graevenbroeck and Kolb, whose descriptions again introduce several new features.[2]

584 According to Kolb, the boy, when he has picked on the girl he wishes to marry, approaches his father, who then acts as his intermediary with her parents. If they are favourably inclined, and here again there is first a show of reluctance, the boy then for the first time directly asks the girl for her consent. If she says yes, all is well; if not, the two sleep together on the following night, when the girl has to struggle to retain her virginity. If she is successful, the suitor must depart; but if, as generally happens, she becomes tired and gives in to him, the marriage is settled, whether she is willing or not. It is not unlikely that in this episode we really have something akin to the wooing described by Wikar, but Kolb's short description of it is more romantic than exhaustive, so that the resemblance cannot be stressed.

[1] This exchange of cattle at marriage is incidentally mentioned by several later writers on the Namas, but their statements are so inadequate that its real nature cannot be determined.

[2] Graevenbroeck, "Uit den Ouden Tijd," 2–3; Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 70–3; cf. Thunberg, *Travels in Europe, Africa, and Asia*, ii, 192; Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge der Afrikaensche Gewesten*, *Travels Dual*, 273.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Cape Hottentots

585

For the actual marriage ceremony, according to Graevenbroeck, a couple of sheep or even a cow are slaughtered. While the meat is being cooked, the bride is handed over to an old woman, who instructs her in the duties of married life, teaches her how to keep her husband and to love him, " and in what the secrets of wedlock consist." Then the old woman smears the gall of the slaughtered animal over the feet of the bride, and ties its bladder to the roof of the hut in which all this is taking place. The magician who has slaughtered the animal then comes up to the young couple, who are naked or at most dressed in a loin-cloth, smears their bodies from head to foot with fat, and powders them both with *buchu*. He next ties round their necks the twisted pericardium of the animal, and finally admonishes them to live in mutual faith and love, wishes them a numerous offspring, and so forth. All then feast on the remains of the animal, the men and the women eating apart. The bride, however, must remain fasting until the following morning. The feast is followed by dancing, which is kept up till late, and then the young couple are left alone in the hut and the marriage is consummated. If the marriage is celebrated more handsomely, the bridegroom on the next day brings the bride to his own home, accompanied by relatives of both and friends. Here she is welcomed with a new drinking bout and a feast, and the young couple are again admonished and given good wishes. Everybody then returns to his normal occupation.

Kolb's description differs somewhat from the above. When the arrangements for the marriage have been concluded, he says, the bridegroom, accompanied by his father, drives one, two, or three fat oxen, according to his means, to the hut or camp of the bride, where her parents and friends are assembled together. The oxen are here slaughtered, the people smear themselves with the fat of the animals and powder themselves with *buchu*, while the women in addition paint their faces with red powder. The men and the women then seat themselves in two rings, each sex by itself; the bride squats in the centre of the women's ring, the bridegroom in the centre of the men's ring. The *auri* or magician of the camp now goes to the men's ring, and as soon as he reaches the bridegroom says a few words to him, then urinates over him from head to foot; this he also does to the bride, as soon as he enters the ring of women. This performance he repeats twice again. The words accompanying it wish the young couple good fortune in their married life, and express the hope that they will be blessed in the coming year with

[791]
514

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Cape Hottentots

585 a son who will grow up strong and big and be a good hunter and a valiant man.

In the meantime the meat of the slaughtered animals has been cooking. When it is ready, everybody joins in the feast, the men and the women, however, eating apart. The only exception is in the case of the bridegroom, who eats sitting together with the women —but out of a separate pot and of meat specially set aside for him. [276] After the feast dagga is smoked, a pipe being passed round out of which every person inhales a few times before handing it on. This smoking bout, which owing to the nature of the herb soon degenerates into a noisy and drunken orgy, is kept up till late at night, when they are all tired and stupefied, and turn in to sleep. The bridegroom now sleeps for the first time with his wife. The festivities are continued on the following day, as long as there is still anything to eat. Dancing, according to Kolb, never takes place at the marriage ceremony, but on this point he is contradicted by most of the other writers.

Married Life

As will have been noted, the descriptions given above vary somewhat in certain details. They all agree, however, in stating that the marriage is celebrated by a special ceremony at the home of the wife's people, accompanied by a feast and general rejoicing. With the conclusion of this ceremony, which as it were stamps the seal of public approval upon the marriage contract, the young couple are legally married. Henceforth they form a separate household in the community, live in their own hut, have their own herd of cattle, sheep and goats, and in general play the part of full adult members of society.

591 606 Among the Naman, however, the husband continues to live with his wife at the home of her parents for at least a year after the marriage, and not till then, or until his first child has been born, is he at liberty to return with his family to his own people's camp and there establish his independent household. Before departing he has again to present to his mother-in-law a good milch cow, this time in token of his release. As long as he remains with his parents-in-law he has to perform all sorts of heavy tasks for them, and to accompany his father-in-law in the hunting field as well as to war. Sometimes, as we have already mentioned, the husband may remain permanently with his wife's people. As a rule, however, this matrilocal residence is

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

783 might increase the peril in which the *!nau* person finds himself. Thus
784 pregnant or menstruating women are always excluded from the hut.
372 All these precautions seem to show that it is the patient's safety that is bound up with the fire. The *!nau* fire must be respected, not because other persons may suffer from the breach of the regulations, but because the patient will suffer therefrom. Raw meat and cold water, again, are sources of great danger to a *!nau* person, and must be kept away from him. It does not seem as if the water itself ever becomes *!nau*, but every *!nau* person has to be carefully protected from it, and reintroduced to it with much ceremony once the period of seclusion is over. The clothing and utensils of the *!nau* person also become *!nau*, but they are a source of danger to others than himself—theirs is the peril if they inadvertently make use of these things before he finally discards them and gives them to the person taking care of him.

The period of seclusion is brought to a close by a renunciation of all that represents the old life—the person, as Mrs. Hoernlé expresses it, must be reborn. There is first a special cleansing of his body by the individual officiating. Then a totally new set of clothing is put on. The old clothes should be used only by the officiating person or someone else of the same group, though the tendency nowadays is to keep most of them for rough use. At the same time the hut is thoroughly purified, and what might be called an "expiatory" meal is eaten. For this meal but one animal is killed, and of it none but the *!nau* person and persons who can no longer become *!nau* may partake. Finally there is the careful reintroduction to all the familiar daily tasks so long laid aside, "and so life begins again with all the solidarity of the new group behind its new member."[1]

[585]

[1] It will be noticed from this description that the conception of *!nau* also applies to the ordinary marriage ceremonies. Unfortunately the data on which Mrs. Hoernlé bases her statement have not yet been published. It is possible, however, to find some confirmation for it in certain of the details recorded by earlier observers, fragmentary though their accounts appear when considered in the light of the analysis given above. Thus Wikar, as we have noted, explicitly mentions the sacramental meal in which only the bride and women already married may take part; and, indeed, in his remarks generally about these transition rites (*ondersmaken*, as he terms them), he emphasizes the fact that a meal is held in which only the "patient" and those who have previously undergone the rite may participate. The statement by both Graevenbroeck and Kolb that men and women eat apart at the marriage feast also points in the same direction, although this is by no means clear from their descriptions. Graevenbroeck further mentions the ceremonial cleansing of the young couple, and Kolb's description of the urination may possibly also be interpreted in this light. None of the accounts, however, even hints at any period of seclusion, nor at anything which can be regarded as a reintroduction of the young couple to the normal tasks of daily life.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13
NAMA

marriage and what should be contributed to the reception: 584
or the young man chooses for himself and then the engagement does not consist in asking her and her saying " yes " but in an action. The young man bashfully points a little stick at the girl of his choice. When she takes the stick, breaks it in two and throws the part broken off at his breast, the question is settled and they understand each other.

No matter how the engagement came about—from the day of the betrothal " separation-period " sets in. The engaged couple dare not meet each other, under no circumstances speak to each other and have to avail themselves of certain other people who have to tell the one what the other has to say. Such a period may sometimes be of considerable duration.

2. The marriage ceremony is as a rule celebrated in the 585
house of the parents of the bride in the form of a sumptuous meal, which is paid for either by the parents of the bridegroom alone or contributed to by both pairs of parents.

When after the marriage the bride comes to the village where the bridegroom stays—which may be days or even weeks after the marriage took place—another feast is held.

Since the majority of the Nama have turned to Christianity 585
the old customs have more or less ceased to exist. Christian 178
customs have been amalgamated with ancient traditional forms, whereby now the Christian and then the old characters appear at the wedding ceremonies.

3. The position of the woman among the Nama is by no 562
means that of the devoted servant of the man. According 593
to old custom the hut belongs to her and she disposes of everything within it. When in need of something the man has to approach his wife entreatingly and not imperiously. But since the old-fashioned huts which were covered with [342
rushes by the women have more and more been displaced by 423]
the modern houses, which the man builds with material for which he has laboured, the woman is being pushed into the background. The abode now becomes the property of the man and there is danger that the consequence will be ill-treatment of the woman. Whether a marriage is permanent 586
or not depends entirely on the relatives for when there are 602
among them those who blow a fire from the sparks of a small difference of opinion, it is easily broken, and the woman returns to her relatives. When on the other hand all the relations are friendly and work against a separation, such 595
a marriage is as a rule permanent. Polygamy was not uncommon with them in olden days, but under the influence of Christianity such cases are exceptions.

4. As soon as symptoms of pregnancy become visible the 843
husband has to devote special attention to his wife. In the first place he is obliged to appease her wishes for special food in order not to endanger the new life. The older women interest themselves so much in the expectant mother that

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

try to hit it, lest he be wounded or destroyed, as does actually happen at times. That is how the Capemen set out especially to hunt the animals just mentioned. 224

MARRIAGE.

Whenever a man falls in love with some girl or other, he asks permission from his father to marry her. This granted, he goes to the girl's father and mother, with the earnest request that he may have the honour of marrying their daughter. Should the parents then favour his suit, the girl finds herself, willynilly, obliged to accept him in love. She puts the fatty gut of a cow round the neck of the bridegroom, instead of a golden chain, and this he must wear until it rots away of its own accord. This in effect is a confirmation of the marriage. 584

Two of the fattest sheep in the whole village are then sought out and slaughtered for this newly-married couple, and dished up partly boiled, partly roasted. No one but these two people and their parents may eat of this meat, lest the marriage be not considered or accepted as binding and lawful. The skins of the sheep, cut to small pieces and the hair all scraped off, are laid on hot coals, and then, after being pounded on a stone, are eaten with great relish. The wedding does not last longer than one day, nor are any other ceremonies celebrated in connexion with marriage[*]). 585 [252 262]

The attachment and love between married, as between unmarried, people varies, just as it does with us. One finds men who have scarcely been married for half a year before they no longer care for their wives or even trouble about them, so that their mutual affection soon dies away. Others on the contrary have as great a love for their wives as can be found among any of the Dutch, and so too have the women for their husbands. As instances of true mutual love among these savages, we may mention two remarkable episodes which happened there a few years ago. In the one a widow, through sadness and grief at the loss of her husband, sprang into a pit full of wood which had been set alight, and burned herself to death. In the other, a young girl, rendered disconsolate because her parents had severely whipped her lover on finding that he had slept with her against their will, threw herself down from a rock and was smashed to pieces. 593 762

---

*) Dapper's description of Hottentot marriage ceremonies, while confirmed in the main by the writings of other observers, is by no means complete. A far more detailed account is given by Grevenbroek (see below, p. 301).

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

repudiant, faciuntque divortium. Nubtiarum solennia haec sunt: *Bovem*, binasve tresve, quandoque plures, jugulant *oves*, carnem excoriatam & tantillum aeri expositam cum propria pecudis adipe in dictis ollis excoquunt, intestina sub cineribus assant, atque apparatis epulis necessarios invitant, & opponunt haec bellaria, suo se oblectantes more.

CAP. XXIV.

De liberorum educatione.

In puerperis facilis laboris naturalia vincula dextre satis ligare ac solvere norunt; ubi vero difficilis partus forte ingruit, adhibent quandam mirandae efficaciae *plantam*, foetum commode expellentem; quam nullo pretio ab illis sive per me sive per alios, redimere potui: id enim communicare lege prohibitum esse, regerebant. Puerperae non diu latent; liberos sine ordine & inconcinne admodum educant barbarae matres; postquam per duas aut tres hebdomadas in mapalibus retinuerint eosdem, nullis unquam fasciis involutos, dorso appendunt suo; quadrimestribus paullo majores fumare *petum*,* octimestres pedibus incedere, colobio tunc donandos, mihi ratum fecit quinquennis hujus regionis hospes; octennes novennesque tractare arma, arcum etjam & tela; ubi parentes cibum saepius eminus collocant, ad quem toties collineare debent, donec eundem inveniant, famem tamdiu perferre coacti.

* *Petum* is unknown to me. B.F.

---

[48]) The marriage feast did not constitute the marriage ceremony, as Ten Rhyne's remarks would seem to imply. Grevenbroek gives a more adequate description, see below, p. 201.

[49]) The modern half-breed Hottentots of Little Namaqualand use *Mesembrianthemum edule*, stamped and given as a pulp, in cases of delayed labour or retained afterbirth; and *Euphorbia restituta* for tedious labour. (Schapera, *op. cit.*, 412.)

[50]) The period of seclusion, according to Grevenbroek (see below, p. 202), was at least eight days.

[51]) This Spartan training is not confirmed by other writers. Ten Rhyne's statement that Hottentot infants four months old are taught to smoke is exceeded only by Tavernier's fantastic

[See 10: Grevenbroek, this File. — Annlyst]

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

if the marriage does not turn out satisfactorily, they put the woman away and make a divorce. Marriages are solemnized in the following way: they kill an ox, two or three or sometimes more sheep, then they skin the carcases and having exposed them for a little to the air they cook them with the animal's own fat in the pots we have mentioned; the innards they roast beneath the ashes, and when the feast has been prepared they summon their kin and set these dainties before them, enjoying themselves in their own way [49]).

CHAP. XXIV.

The Education of the Children.

If a woman is in easy childbed they are sufficiently skilful in binding and severing nature's links; but when a difficult labour sets in, they invoke the aid of a plant of wonderful efficiency, which happily expels the foetus [50]). I could not succeed in purchasing this plant at any price either directly or through others. Their reply always was that they are forbidden by law to share it. Women who have had a child are not long in retirement [51]). They bring their children up without any regularity or niceness, as you would expect from savages. After keeping them two or three weeks in the huts, they then sling them on their backs without any swaddling bands whatever. At a little more than four months old they begin to smoke and at eight months to walk upright, at which time they are given a kaross, according to information given me by one who had resided five years in the place. When they are eight or nine they begin to handle arms, both the bow and spears. Their parents often place their food at a distance; at this they must keep on aiming till they hit it, being compelled meantime to go on fasting [52]).

---

tale that "as soon as a male is born his mother partially castrates him, and gives him sea-water to drink, and tobacco to eat"! (*op. cit.*, 282).

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694)1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

Quandoque puerpera tribus quatuorve liberis jam praemortuis, orbitatem metuens, vitam superstiti infanti, ab averruncis diis deprecatura, per foramen in tugurioli tecto factum, desuper in humi jacentem nudum filiolum lympham ollâ ex proximo fonte, aut torrente haustam effundit, mox mediis mapalibus sedens, gnatum corpori applicat, eumque tanquam tum demum in lucem editum, suaviatur; hinc utriusque manus auriculari digito articulum deprecaneo sacrificio sibi abscindit, eosque inibi in terram defodit; ultimò hospites lautè prorsusque prolixe accipiuntur, seque liberaliter oblectant, saltatorio magistro papâ, omnibus in rebus, ut fere passim assolet, praesultante.

Procus ardentem castumque suum amasiae testaturus amorem, illius sinistram malam duobus suis dextrae digitis, pollice et indice, leni tactu comprimit, eosque osculatur. Pariter quidam trimulus Afer stipem à me petens, impetratam continuo matri, gaudio exiliens porrigit, quae sinistrâ eam avidè arripiens, primoribus duobus dextrae digitis laevam pusionis bucculam attingit, eosque labiis suis admotos, laeta me coram suaviata. Hinc una alterave ovicula, et ubi sponsi opes tantas expensas patiuntur, etiam bos harioli, fatidici aut magi manibus cadit; interim nova nupta alicui spinturnicio aut antistitae scientiâ moribusque caeteris conspectiori, veneriis tyrociniis, Junoniisque officiis imbuenda traditur. Haec eam quibus artibus sponsum demulceat, quomodo marito blandiatur, palpumque obtrudat, quibusque mysteriis conjugalia sacra constent, edocet; demum ei pedes felle caesae bestiae umbratica inungit, ejus folliculum tecto, sub quo haec sacra peraguntur, imponens: quo facto sacerdos, harusper aut Flamen nudos neogamos, verendis dumtaxat tectis, à vertice summo ad imum calcem, pinguedine bestiae liquefactâ et igne temperatâ, eorundemque vestes unctor

---

[31]) I cannot decide whether G. is here referring to the Hottentots or the AmaXhosa: I have not come across any other mention of the rite he describes.

[32]) The following description apparently applies to the Hottentots only. It is one of the fullest of the earlier accounts

S
H
751
782
H
585

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

Sometimes a young mother who has already lost three or four children, and is afraid of being left quite childless, resorts to the following practice to secure the life of a surviving child from the protecting deities. Through a hole in the roof of the hut she pours water fetched in a pitcher from the neighbouring spring or river down onto her little son as he lies naked on the ground; then sitting in the middle of the hut she holds her child close to her body and kisses him as if he had just been born;[31]) next she cuts off a joint from the little finger of each hand as a sacrifice of propitiation, and buries them there in the earth; finally guests are received in a luxurious and abundant style, and enjoy themselves lavishly, with a priestly dancing master, according to their almost universal habit, leading the way in everything.

The bridegroom, wishing to prove his burning and chaste passion for his beloved, gently pinches her left cheek with the thumb and forefinger of his right hand, and then kisses these two fingers. I observed a similar action, when a native child of three years of age begged a copper of me, and forthwith, jumping with joy, gave it to his mother; for she eagerly snatched the coin with her left hand, but with the first two fingers of her right hand she touched the left cheek of the little lad, then put the fingers to her lips and fondly kissed them in my presence.

After the wedding[32]) a sheep or two, or, if the resources of the bridegroom will stand so great an expense, even an ox, is sacrificed by the hands of soothsayer, prophet or wizard; meantime the new bride is handed over to some ugly and experienced old crone, respected above the rest for learning and character, to be instructed in the ABC of love and the duties of maternity. From her she learns by what arts to allure her lord, to win upon her husband, and to soothe him down, and in what mysteries the marriage rites consist. Then within the shelter of the house she anoints the bride's feet with the gall of a slaughtered animal, placing the skin of the animal upon the roof under which these rites are performed. When this has been done, a priest, diviner, or flamen assumes the office of anointer and smears the newly-wedded pair, now naked except for their privates, from the crown of the head to the soles of the feet with animal fat warmed and melted in the heat of the fire. Their garments are smeared in the same way. Then he sprinkles the skin of

---

and from such other evidence as is available appears to be substantially correct. Cf. the discussion of Hottentot marriage ceremonies in Schapera, *op. cit.*, 244 ff.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

both with a powder of the bochu shrub, just as in the old days we learn it was the practice of the Greeks and Romans to sprinkle a victim with milled and salted flour before sacrifice. Next the entrails of the slaughtered animal are hung in waved and twisted coils about the neck of each, much as our countrymen do with girdles, necklaces and ornaments for the breast. Finally the priest solemnly exhorts the young couple to mutual love, a chaste concern for the marriage bed, unsullied faith, an earnest zeal in the begetting of children, and all the other duties of wedlock. 585

After this, full of their native jollity, they fall upon their greasy banquet and clean it up, and musicians beating the earth with free foot begin the dance. Men banquet with men as if in special quarters; women feast with women in a place reserved for them.[332a]) Each sex is under a separate roof. Only the bride on this auspicious day, which ought to be gayest for her above all, fasts till the morrow's dawn, nor though her throat be on fire will she taste of any drink. I suppose that she conceals her excessive joy at gaining a husband by an exhibition of affected gloom, while all the time exulting with joy at being enrolled among the wives. Then when night falls the husband sleeps alone with the bride in the house that has been built for the consummation of these rites. What prodigies they here devise and act remain concealed beneath the robe of Harpocrates and the veil of Lucina, and so far as concerns me may remain so for ever. [264]

When the brilliant celebration of the nuptials is over, the bridegroom, accompanied by the kinsfolk and connections of both, by the bridesmen and his friends, leads the bride to his home. Here the drinking and feasting are resumed, and the festivities repeated, to welcome the pair as the occasion demands. Then when sacrifice has been made, so that nothing should be lacking to complete the scene, and when the solemn inauguration has been accomplished by the priest, after calling down all sorts of blessings on the newly-married pair, all promptly depart and resume their usual activities.

When a woman is in childbed, her relations perform the duties of the midwife. These women on the eighth day after the birth of the child, and sometimes even later, wash the young mother from the crown of her head to the soles of her feet thoroughly, before letting her go abroad. The men are turned out of the hut. The temperature of the [844] 846

[332a]) This separation of the sexes at meals, and especially at feasts, is noticed by most writers on the early Hottentots.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

Note : Henceforth, explained *Iis* and *Meis*, she ceased to be a */ho:s* and became an *oaxais*, until her marriage when she became a *taras* or wife. *Iis* added that they were too poor nowadays to keep up such an elaborate ritual, which sometimes lasted for months.

This ceremonial has been described extremely briefly for the Korana by Wuras (loc. cit.) For the Naman, see Schapera (op. cit. p. 272-279) who analyses all the previous accounts and gives his sources as usual. The fullest Nama description is that of Mrs. Hoernlé (*Harvard African Studies*, ii. pp. 70-74). Her account substantially agrees with the above text. It contains a full timing of the proceedings and lays stress on the festivities and other details. There is in both accounts the same symbolical return to the household duties and the same renewal of the initiate's contact with water after her long period of impurity and seclusion, as well as her inability to do the normal things of life, while she is cut off from her fellow creatures. Likewise the sacramental meal is restricted to women and only to women who are free from their periods.

The *sāb* spoken of in the Korana text is a sweet-smelling powder. *Kheis* brought me some and she and *Iis* separated its constituent elements. They are as follows : (i) */haep ;* (ii) */ui sāb*, a green lichen growing on stones ; (iii) */hareb*, " veld biesies," roots only ; (iv) */hu !kŭb ;* (v) *!gwabeb* grows in vleis, only found at Warrenton on the Vaal in winter ; and lastly the *!honabab* root, of the colour of the earth, and reduced to small pieces. The mixture must smell sweet (*!gāi ham*). The women use it not only as described above, but also on their armpits and to rub babies with.

It might be well to add the few words I have collected about their marriage. No more elaborate ceremonies now exist. In former times, twenty oxen, they said, were killed for the festivities, which were accompanied by the *≠a:di* and dancing. The *aba gomas* was given to the mother of the bride by the bridegroom and the young bride was welcomed with more festivities and dancing into the bridegroom's kraal. When a child was born a */naes /ho:na gomab*, " an ox for the newborn children " was given to the mother, if a boy was born. If a girl, a cow was given, */naes /ho:na gomas*.

The life history of *Iis*

gei !hoab kurib !na Iis kje !khoub kx'ai !nae ha. ikje !koub hxa kx'omina !go kx'ai. ||na: ||kae, kx'omina /harukxa xu die ha. ikje /haruhxa /hāb xu die, ikje tarakhwedi !garib !na /hākxa di /hou /hou.

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

22. Another custom, common to Khoikhoi, Bushmen and Berg-Damara—of whom the latter have entirely adopted the Khoikhoi language and manners—is the practice of cutting off a finger. This is done even to new-born children who are not a day old. As all sicknesses are expected to come from ǁGauna, or from his servants, the practitioners of witchcraft, it appears that this custom is a kind of sacrifice or offering to ǁGuana; and we are entitled to conclude that, in very remote times, human sacrifice must have been practised by the Hottentot race.

23. If a woman's or young girl's breasts itch, they say: "My son, my cousin, or some near relation, will soon arrive."

24. If a cow, during the night commences to groan in her sleep, the next morning she is caught, and a piece of skin, just above the nose, is cut, so that it hangs down in the shape of an ear-ring or *ear-drops*. If this be neglected, the owner of the cow soon will die.

25. If a girl becomes of age, or if a wedding is to be celebrated, nothing but cows and sheep-ewes may be slaughtered; and if any other cattle is killed the couple is sure to live unhappy. The fattest cow or the finest young heifer is chased about the place by the young men, and thrown with stones and beaten with clubs, until she is so exhausted and trembling with fear that she allows everybody to come near and touch her. If she still should kick and show fight, it is a sure sign that the marriage will be a continuation of fights and quarrels between husband and wife.

26. The girl or girls who have become of age must, after the festival, run about in the first thunderstorm, but they must be quite naked, so that the rain which pours down washes the whole body. The belief is that they will get fruitful and have a large offspring. I have on three occasions witnessed this running in the thunder-rain, when the roaring of the thunder was deafening and the whole sky appeared to be one continual flash of lightning. This was among the ǃGamiǂnus, on the banks of the Geiḷāb